10: Schumacher--225 [4] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosans
116, 596, 621

The Chinese live very much secluded by families, even in large towns, and have contact with other family units only through the official mediation of the head of each group concerned.

15: U.S. Navy --26 [6] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 741, 596, 177.74 Japanese
636.74

"The Japanese officially list 1,676 organizations or facilities for philanthropic and social welfare work in Taiwan. These include semi-official organizations such as 'Improvement of Village' associations, pawnshops, public markets, and others which under government supervison perform the work which would be financed elsewhere either through the government budget directly or through spontaneous private charity. There is less need for such organizations in a social system which is built on family units in which the individuals share and share alike."

15: U.S. Navy --26 [8] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 596, 736, 626, 177.73 Japanese
636.73

"There are social welfare departments in the Government which endeavor to care for persons without support or livelihood. The family system absorbs the majority of such cases, for a moral obligation lies upon the entire family to support and to share with all members. Property and the income from it is held in common. An able-bodied person who shirks his duties and tends to become a charge upon the family is open to reproof by the elders and by the family council. In extreme cases a member may be cut off from the clan in disgrace and so have no further claim upon it.

Those who are ill, the aged and the physically handicapped can claim the same support from the family group. Hence few appear as public charges."

15: U.S. Navy--27 [2] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 556, 511, 596

"Among the Formosans there is little outward display although there are several notably wealthy families. The majority of Formosans are impoverished farmers, but the natural richness of the land, the favorable climate, the quality of the soil and the communal nature of the Chinese family system which permits the individual to share equally in the total goods of the family, combine to prevent such great extremes of destitution as are to be found on the China mainland only 90 miles away."

15: U.S. Navy --27 [5] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 591, 177, 554, 596

"As a usual thing Formosan-Chinese sons remain at home when they marry, bringing in their wives and rearing their children under the guidance of the eldest member of the family. Hence many individuals make up one family, living in patriarchal style. All members of the family share in the work and in the returns from the land, which is held in joint title. Some wealthy Formosans who have profited by cooperating with the Japanese have, as a matter of policy, added Japanese living quarters to their homes or attempt to live in Japanese fashion."

15: U.S. Navy--28 [10] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 592, 596, 369

"Frequently husbands leave their wives and children under the patriarchal roof in the country while they spend the week in towns at some places of business or trade. The wives and older children help care for the farm. Many city households are dependent upon relatives in the country for much of their foodstuff, and there is constant going back and forth."

II. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

A. Traditional Organizations

• 596 The village community is the basic unit of folk society. Formosa's original village communities contained the family, the kinship group, and other folk associations.

1. Family and Kinship Group

The family in early Formosa was the so-called extended family or the composite family. It was a cluster of nuclear families living in a large rambling structure or compound consisting of many rooms surrounding courtyards. The head of the family lived in the central section. Each of his sons on marriage was assigned to a separate room according to seniority, designated as "the first chamber," "the second chamber," and so on. Usually each chamber was the center of a nuclear family consisting of husband, wife, and unmarried children. Not infrequently, married sons and daughters-in-law and even grandchildren were included. Generally such a family had common meals and common property, but there were variations. On the breakup of a large family the sons formed independent families, in turn assigning their sons separate chambers. Although divided among themselves, the brothers, their sons and grandsons constituted a kinship group. Thus, the extended family

596 under the family-head and the kinship group under the elder of the clan constituted small integrated kingdoms.

The functioning of the patriarchal and extended family is far from simple. The inheritance of property, troubles between sons or daughters-in-law, the relation between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law or daughter and her brother's wife, all these are very complicated and easily lead to discord and antagonism. However, inspite of this, the members do unite and co-operate in defending their life and common property. Strong authority is bestowed on the house-father to control the family, and patience is taken as the cardinal virtue of the members of the extended family.

After peace and order were established by the Japanese colonial government, consolidation of kinsmen for self-protection lost its raison d'etre. As the system of administration became more complete, the necessity for mutual-aid among kinsfolk gradually diminished. While the older generation valued highly the prosperous family and kinship group, the young people saw no reason why they should sacrifice their individuality and freedom for their ancestors and the extended family. Young people went to big towns and cities as factory workers, clerks, merchants, teachers or professional men,

596 usually bringing their wives and children with them. The proportion of nuclear families has increased with urbanization and industrialization in the past twenty years.

2. Folk Associations

Various Folk Associations: In the
575 pre-modern village community co-operation for mutual aid in making a living was essential, and there were many kinds of associations in response to various social needs. Hitherto specialists on Formosa have focused their attention mainly upon village and family. In fact, folk society attained a fairly high degree of development, and it was much too complex to be managed by blood and locality groups alone. Institutions of social cohesion based on social function or social need was in evidence, and these we will designate as folk associations.

625 There were various associations for the protection of agricultural work. When crops and vegetables were still young or almost ripe, they had to be protected from damage by cattle, hogs or chickens. Usually an association was organized to take care of this. Special persons were appointed to watch over the fields. Every household was notified not to let its animals out, and if any one violated the regulation, he was punished by the association. There were associations for the regulation of

45:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AD1 Formosa
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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1g,
Sociological Background

FAMILY

• 596 Definition of Terms. Family is defined as "a group of people living together as a unit who are related to one another by blood, marriage, or adoption." In the main, it refers to an economic "family," i.e., in addition to the above characteristics, it has both common property and common budget.[1] The terms chia or chia-t'ing, meaning "family" in Mandarin, and ke or tz'u, meaning "family" in Min-nan dialect, seem to afford no distinction between the nuclear family (parents and unmarried children), the stem family (parents and married son), the joint family (parents and married sons), and the extended family (more than two generations, married and kinsmen). An extended family may include several family units of nuclear and stem type and it may also include more than two generations. Similarly, a joint family may include some kinsmen. These terms, to some extent, often correspond with the term "household" (hu in Mandarin and ho in Min-nan dialect) which may include servants, boarders, etc. Thus, the terms are not clearly differentiated. Therefore, whenever possible, families will be referred to as nuclear, stem, joint, or extended, depending upon the criteria given above.

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1. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, p. 13.

45:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AD1 Formosa
~~AD1~~ AD1

I. INTRODUCTION

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Familial relationships and sentiments form the most important basis of social fabric and human behavior in Formosa. Precepts as well as structure of the family and kinship groups, with which the society has lived for centuries, exist side by side with ideas and influences of Western institutions. The extended family, which was predominant in the past, is now gradually on the wane as the result of changes brought about by industrialization and the introduction of new social institutions.

With the exception of tribal aborigines, Formosa's society in pre-Japanese times was a transplantation of those which existed in Fukien and northern Kwangtung provinces. With the coming of the Japanese, economic, educational, religious, and political ties that had held together members within villages, clans, and extended families began to crumble. In other words, most of the familial functions were gradually taken over by the state -- the Government-General of Formosa -- and, indirectly, Japan. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the Formosan Chinese have been exposed to conflicting cultures and have been forced to reconcile the old and new.

596 Today, the typical family grouping in
178 the rural areas is that of the extended family; in urban areas, the typical grouping is that of the nuclear or joint family.

II. THE TRADITIONAL FAMILY

596 Ever since the seventeenth century, kinship groups in Formosa have been changing from clans to extended families, and from extended families to joint and nuclear families. Cohesion and functional ties within a clan are no longer strong, and today only the large and extended family remains an arbiter of social behavior.

The traditional family was extended and patriarchal. The ideal was to have a large family, with many generations living under the same roof. A large family was a strength in itself in a society which depended on farming for its livelihood. A popular Formosan saying, "If there are three sons to a man, there will be one thousand in the family within six generations," well expresses the ideal of a large family.[2] The extended family was a

2. Taiwan Government-General, Taiwan rigen shuran [Collection of Taiwan's Maxims and Proverbs], Taihoku, Taihoku kappansha, 1914, p. 138.

• 596 cluster of nuclear families living in a large rambling structure or compound, with many rooms surrounding a courtyard. The head of the family lived in the central section. Each of his sons upon marriage was assigned to a separate room according to seniority, the eldest son and his wife given "the first chamber," the second son given "the second chamber," and so on. Usually each chamber was the center of a nuclear family consisting of husband, wife, and unmarried children. Often married sons and daughters-in-law and even grandchildren were included. Generally such an extended family shared common meals and common property, but there were some variations. When the patriarch of a large family died, his sons formed independent families, in turn assigning their sons separate chambers.

The most important concern of family life was to preserve the continuity of the family. Its pattern was patrilineal; a family line might be perpetuated only through the male heirs.

The head of the family was usually an elder male. The authority of the father was considered supreme within the household, and his position was assumed by the oldest son when the father died. If the son were too young, an uncle became head, and if there were

584 for the perpetuation of the family was the prime
596 motive for matrimony. Very often people married without knowing each other previously. Since to marry was to bring forth a new generation, concubinage for the purpose of procreation was not frowned upon. Where there were no sons in the family, adoption of the children of close relatives or friends was encouraged. As Mencius taught: There are three things which are unfilial, and to have no heirs is the greatest of them.

596 Although the extended family was pre-
593 dominant in pre-Japanese Formosan society, no familial relationship was closer than that found among the members of a nuclear family. In an extended family, a father might have a tight control over his married sons, but he would grow old and his sons' attentions and affections would revolve around their wives and their children.

Within a nuclear family the father-son relationship was said to be the closest.[3] A son

3. Shoji Yamanaka, "Rigen ni arawareta Taiwan oyobi Shina no kazoku seikatsu," ["Family Life in Taiwan and China as Expressed in Sayings and Proverbs"], Taiwan bunka ronso, Vol. II, [Symposium of the Culture of Taiwan], Taihoku, Shimizu shoten, 1943, pp. 1-107.

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593 never exposed his father's mistakes or misdemeanors. A close bilateral dependence between father and son among the poor families and unilateral dependence of son upon father in rich families were the rule generally. The father was expected to exercise disciplinary power over his sons, and the mother was to care for and love them. Often a boy relied on his father's reputation to establish himself in a new situation. When a parent died, the son was charged with responsibility for the funeral rites, the selection of a grave site, the maintenance of the grave, and periodic sacrifices at the ancestral shrine. Ritual obligations functioned not only as a medium for the continuation of the reciprocal parent-child relationship, but also as a means of validating one's position in the community.[4] The father-daughter relationship was formal and temporary. Poor people preferred not to have girl babies because female children would be dependent upon the parents for sustenance during their early years and upon maturity would marry and join other families. However, the daughter's children always attracted the grand-parents' love and attention.

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4. Morton H. Friend, Fabric of Chinese Society, New York, Praeger, 1953, p. 53.

596 Brothers were not bound to each other
593 with the same strength each felt for the father. The degree of cohesion was determined by their social and economic circumstances. When it was necessary to protect the family from an enemy without, brothers were considered as close as one's limbs.[5] If there were differences in occupations and economic interests, a division of the family after the death of the father was inevitable. Then each son formed a nuclear or joint family for himself, and brothers became mere neighbors. But such instances were rare. Many factors bound together the nuclear units, making the typical family grouping extended and inclusive.

596 The social function of the extended family
411 was as a unit for self-protection against possible attack by aborigines, bandits, enemy clans, and criminals. For defense against so many enemies, village and clan members united, but the extended family was the basic defense unit. In well-to-do families there were stores of rifles, spears, and other weapons. Even today, gun loopholes can be found in the outer walls of some old houses.[6]

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5. Yamanaka, loc, cit.
6. Ibid.

596 771 The extended family was in itself a religious group. Worship of common ancestors, observation of their birthdays, and participation in annual festivals were ceremonies observed by all members of the family. Religious practices served to impress family members with a feeling of kinship and common heritage.

596 871 The education of children became the function of an extended family when there were no public schools. Tutors were invited to join the family and all the children studied at common expense, regardless of their parents' status within the family. All the children had an equal opportunity to learn.

596 The family was also an economic unit. Male adults participated in the family business and the entire family shared a common budget. In rural families, rice paddies were hulled and cloth was woven by women in the home. Chickens, ducks, vegetables, and preserves were produced in the household, thus making it unnecessary to buy more than a few necessities at the market. In this manner, the family functioned as a unit of production and consumption. Another feature pertaining to the extended family was the system of community property. Family property belonged to the entire family, and at the dispersion of the family it was divided among the sons, with a relatively larger share going to the eldest son, who assumed responsibility for maintenance of the family shrine.

596 There was strength in remaining a large family. Farming needed the co-operation of all adult members. A family engaged in commerce often feared the loss of prestige and economic strength if the family were divided.

Thus, the family played a decidedly important role in the whole web of human contacts.

596 Group living necessitated a pattern of
181 obligations, sentiments, and expectations. The custom of passing on a business from father to son, the reluctance of rural people to leave their ancestral land for the cities, and the mutual profit shared by family members -- young or old -- who worked together to earn the family's livelihood all reflect the influence of family relationships upon individual lives. Many cultural characteristics of the Formosans -- their great dignity and politeness, their unwillingness to express disagreement, their tendency to keep their own counsel, and the way in which they maintain an attitude of non-interference toward the lives and the problems of others -- had their origin in the close-knit family groups and the conditions in which of necessity they lived. Considerate behavior and the ability to compromise have been necessary to maintain friendly relationships within the family.

577 Filial piety and other traditional values stem from the concept of the family. It is a mark of shame to be called unfilial, and children do not neglect their parents or elderly relatives. A successful kinsman is obligated to assit his kinsmen financially or politically even if such an act should be against the interests of the state.

III. RECENT CHANGES

596 178 The advent of the Japanese was followed by successive changes in the social and political institutions of the Formosan Chinese. The government took over many of the responsibilities of the clan and the extended family in matters which pertained to the maintenance of public order, the establishment of public schools, and other public institutions. Industrialization, the introduction of corporate enterprise, and urbanization in general, together with the newly-assumed duties of the government were responsible for the loosening of familial ties and the emancipation of women within the family as well as within society.

More people now live in urban areas and farmers have ceased to lead nearly self-sufficient lives; they look to the farmers' organizations for agricultural information and other forms of mutual assistance. Opportunities for jobs in banks, factories, railroads, and

• 596 178 shipping have resulted in further division of extended families and at the same time have given women more opportunity for employment outside the household. There is a great deal of evidence that extended families are separating to form smaller and less-inclusive [162] units. In 1812, the average household consisted of 8.3 persons;[7] in 1953, the average household had 5.5 persons.[8] In a survey conducted by the Foreign Operations Administration's Mutual Security Mission to China, the composition of urban households was characterized by a relatively large proportion of legal households consisting of a single person, and such households accounted for more than 9 per cent of the total.[9]

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7. Yoshinori Ino, Taiwan bunkashi, Vol. II [The Records of the Culture of Taiwan], Tokyo Toko shoyin, 1928, p. 238.

8. Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1955, Taipei, Directorate-General of Budgets, Accounts, and Statistics, Executive Yuan, 1955, p. 27.

9. A. F. Raper and others, Urban and Industrial Taiwan, Taipei, Foreign Operations Administration and National Taiwan University, 1954, p. 261.

596 369 Rural households retain many of the features of the traditional family. They are often made up of three or four generations with a goodly sprinkling of kinsmen, adopted children, and others. However, among the one hundred households which were the subjects of a survey conducted by the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, 58 were termed nuclear families and included 48 per cent of the total population surveyed. The other 42 households were three- and four-generation households, and included the remaining 52 per cent.[10]

562 178 The influence of the West has greatly improved the position of women in Formosan society. Women today have equal elective franchise and the right of inheritance. They have not only become clerks and manual workers but also have entered the professions and have taken a role in politics. The Chinese Constitution stipulates that the number of women delegates to the National Assembly, as well as the number of women members of the Legislative and Control Yuan, shall be determined by law. The Electoral Law fixes the percentage at ten, and at present there are 60 women of a total

10. A. F. Raper, Rural Taiwan - Problem and Promise, Taipei, Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, 1953, p. 208.

597 548 many people adopt girls to be employed as servants and, in a few extreme cases, adopt several girls in order to derive profit from their prostitution. A recent household registration indicates that there are about 135,000 adoped daughters on the island, of which abdut 100,000 are said to have been adopted for the purposes mentioned above. They are less 597 daughters than bonded servants, and may be sold or traded frequently and forced to serve in cafes or to engage in prostitution.[16] Many cases of incest and abduction and suicide pacts involve young women who have been "adopted" in this manner and innocently cause the disintegration of a household. Recommendations, however, are being made for correction of this abuse.[17]

V. FAMILIAL SETTING OF THE ABORIGINES[18]

• 596 Family cohesion within aboriginal families is probably as strong as that in Formosan families.

16. Hsin-she-hui Yüen-k'an [New Society Monthly], VII, 7, Taipei, July 1955, pp. 1-28.

17. Ibid.

18. Sainosuke Fujiksaki, Taiwan no banzoku [Savage Tribes of Taiwan], Tokyo, Kokushi kankokai, 1936, Part II, Chapter 4; Part IV, Chapter 4; Part V, Chapter 2; and Part IV, Chapter 3.

• 596 Marital customs among the tribesmen seem to indicate that their groupings include both nuclear and extended families. Bunun, Paiwan, and Yami tribes have nuclear families, and each son after marriage establishes his own household.

Aboriginal families are patriarchal, with the exception of those of the Paiwan and Ami tribes. The latter families are perpetuated through the female line; a man marries into the bride's family in both tribes and the newlyweds establish separate households after marriage.

562 428 The position of women in Ami and Paiwan tribes is superior to that of the men. Men have no rights of inheritance and have no say in the management of property in these tribes, although they represent their families at public meetings and in other social contacts. Women are sole heads of the family in matters which concern the family and its relatives. In other tribes, an inheritance is equally divided among the sons or goes to the eldest son who is the heir. When there are no sons in the family in the Bunun tribe, the family line is terminated, and the family property is given to the closest male relative. An interesting aspect of inheritance in the Ami tribe is that the youngest daughter remains at home to inherit the family property as well as to perpetuate the family line.

A. The Rural Family

596 369 563 The patriarchal, extended family common to the Mainland is the pattern of the family for the majority of people on Formosa. In rural communities, the father and sons work in the fields, the mother and the wives of married sons look after the hogs, fowl, and cattle and do the work of the household. Daughters care for the younger children, help in the preparation of meals, and wash the clothes. Boys and girls attend school until twelve years' of age; schooling continues after that age only if the child is talented and the family is able to afford tuition and the loss of the child's labor at home. Generally speaking, women of Fukienese descent are not given as many laborious duties as the Hakka women, who raise hogs, cattle, and fowl, and tend vegetable plots even in non-farming communities. Fukien children are more apt to prepare for city jobs than to continue work on the farms.

Since World War II, farm rents have been reduced and farmers are encouraged to farm more intensively in order to secure larger yields. As a result, women now do more farm-work than before. It is reported that women in Chihu are responsible for at least

369 40 per cent of the district's agricultural
596 production; in 1937, they accounted for only
563 17 per cent of the total yield.[1]

The aborigines in the mountainous regions of Formosa make a living from slash-and-burn agriculture and hunting. Some of the aboriginal tribes (the Bunun, the Tsou, the Paiwan, and the Yami) follow the patriarchal, extended family pattern. Others (the Atayal and Saisett) have a nuclear family organization -- each member of the family fulfills a definite role fixed by tribal custom. Aborigine women ordinarily do more farm work than Chinese women. Until recently few children from native tribes attended school, and until recently few aborigines ventured outside their tribal regions.

B. The Urban Family

369 The population of Formosa has been
161 increasing rapidly. The rate of increase is greatest in the urban areas. Each of Formosa's four largest cities -- Taipei, Kaoshiung,

1. Arthur F. Raper, Rural Taiwan - Problem and Promise, Taipei, 1953, p. 120.

52:Barclay S-5 (no date)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

CHAPTER VII

The Setting for Family Life

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NO MATTER what part of Taiwanese life we have investigated, it has not been possible to proceed very far without encountering evidences of familial pressures and sentiments. This has been true of the organization of farming, the "inheritance" of skills, the reluctance to migrate, certain special patterns of mortality, and the attainment of peace and order by the Japanese. Yet kinship is something that people usually consider as a private matter (and moreover take for granted without inquiry as it exists among themselves), and so it is not easy to increase our knowledge of it.

The aspect of kinship that makes it so important is the framework of obligations and expectations that it imposes on people's activities in related spheres.[1] Like many forces affecting behavior, the Chinese family system is an intangible thing, and must be approached by indirection—for example, by construing some of the basic moral precepts that the society has received from the past, which is the usual procedure, or, as we shall essay in this chapter, by examining some of the patterns that people display in their familial roles. The former of these devices has been singularly appropriate, for Chinese have one of the richest accumulations of expressions about their sentiments in family matters that ever existed; but it has left us with a one-sided and sometimes unclear view of the subject, largely because it has been followed with little reference to the latter. While neither of these alternatives gives a perfect representation of the family system in actual operation, the advantage here lies in using Taiwan's census data to illuminate a few points on which accurate information has previously been lacking.

The Size of Household Units

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Japanese authorities showed that they were aware of the family's practical significance to the people, for in Taiwan they made it the basis of their census and vital registration statistics as well as of their regular civil administration. In each census the blank forms that were distributed to be filled in with personal information were all made out with the *household* as the unit of enumeration. The head

[1] For thorough discussion of the family's role in Chinese social organization, see Lang, O. (1946) and Levy, M. J., Jr. (1950).

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

592 gevity discussed in the previous chapter into additional old and young members of non-working ages.[9]

Family Membership in Households

592 596 Not all households had the variety in their membership shown by the average of all of them in Table 46. In fact, it was not common for households to contain non-family members at all, and the internal affairs of most households did not involve persons other than near relatives. Owing to the indefinite criterion of family relationship in the census data, no more than a crude approach can be made to discovering what special or unusual features were present in those families that incorporated "outsiders" into their households.

The traditions that shape Chinese familial life are explicit as to why large families are desirable and how they should be achieved. Their foremost concern is that of descent, of preserving the continuity of a particular family indefinitely into the future. The most emphatic rule of descent is that it should be patrilineal, that a family line may be perpetuated only through its male side. There are no notable exceptions to this rule; in cases where it cannot be followed to the letter, its purpose is observed by means of adoption, changing of surnames, or even reversing some of the usual procedures in marriage, as we shall see in the next chapter.

Since the exact relationships are not shown, it is never possible to be certain just *which* family relatives were included in a household of a given size. But the nuclear group might be described as husband, wife, and unmarried children, for the kinship system does not customarily provide these people (or such of them who remain alive and present) any alternative place of residence. With this group alone, much of which was usually made up of dependent children, the actual size of most households was not large enough to leave room for either additional relatives or "outsiders." (See Fig. 30, above.)

The goal of still larger families, which was realized by a restricted though substantial part of the population, could not have been attained without encountering special difficulties imposed by the family system itself.[10] But any further enlargements of a family could be

[9] There was some change in the standard of what constituted employment for women between these two censuses, and this accentuated slightly what otherwise would be the pattern of change in Table 46. The same pattern results, perhaps less strongly, if only males are used in the comparison.

[10] Of course, the parents of the husband or other relatives of the father's (or higher)

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

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made in only one way—by retaining in it two or more brothers, with *their* nuclear family groups, if any. In achieving the extended families that have been cherished in Chinese tradition this is the crucial step, for there are counter-pressures that tend to discourage it. Collateral ties are known to be relatively weak among Chinese—sons do not have bonds of the same strength with each other that they have with their fathers. These ties are especially difficult to maintain after the death of a father, for sons may exercise individual claims to shares in the family property. These claims sometimes lead to division of the family and its property even before the father dies; they are intensified as soon as the brothers are married. Extending the family unit to any considerable size implies some ability to coordinate these conflicting interests and requires leisure for devoting attention to managing its collective affairs, not to mention special resources to support its existence on a more elaborate scale. Obviously it was unusual to succeed in preventing family division along such lines as these. If everyone had succeeded, the number of households in Taiwan would have remained about the same, and the entire increase of population would have gone toward enlarging those that were already there. Although this is not what actually happened, the fact that larger households in Taiwan increased in proportion after 1905 (see Fig. 30) may be a sign that the opportunities for staving off the division of families were improving.

Changes in the size distribution of households are probably an accurate indicator of the rise and fall of family fortunes, if not a very illuminating one. For in reality, when one speaks of ordinary households among Taiwanese, it is practically the same thing as speaking of family groups and nothing else. Nearly everyone who lived in a household of more than one member was a blood relative of the head. In these "co-resident" households, excluding for the moment those Taiwanese who lived alone, over 98 per cent of all Taiwanese in 1920 were related to the household head (if the head

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generation might be added, for they had claims of support that could not be disregarded—one of them might even be the head of the household. But Taiwanese did not live long enough to allow more than three lineal generations to be represented for very long at the same time in the same family.

On the other hand, daughters ordinarily ceased to be included in a family after marriage, since the rule of male descent worked in reverse for them—they were expected to enter the families of their husbands, where in most cases they were found in census enumerations. Though the actual practice in these matters was less uniform than has usually been supposed, it remains true that the expected and preferred arrangement is that outlined here.

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

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TABLE 47

EXTENT OF FAMILY RELATIONSHIP IN TAIWANESE HOUSEHOLDS, 1920

Persons in All (Ordinary) Households, Those Living Alone, Those Living in Households with Others ("Co-Residents"), Co-Residents Who Were Mutually Related, and the Per Cent Who Were Related. By Type of Household

	All Household Residents	*Persons Living Alone*	*Co-Residents (1)–(2)*	*Mutually Related Co-Residents (Including Head of Household)*	*Per Cent of Co-Residents Mutually Related*
All Households					
a. All Types	3,454,956	51,694	3,403,262	3,343,175	98.2
b. Purely family			3,093,000	3,093,000	100.0
c. Mixed			310,262	250,175	80.6
Households with Head Occupied					
a. All types	3,111,558	44,417	3,067,141	3,012,945	98.2
b. Purely family			2,788,813	2,788,813	100.0
c. Mixed			278,328	224,132	80.5
Households with Head Not Occupied					
a. All Types	343,398	7,277	336,121	330,230	98.2
b. Purely family			304,187	304,187	100.0
c. Mixed			31,934	26,043	81.6
Head Occupied in Agriculture*					
a. All Types	2,230,098	14,929	2,215,169	2,189,415	98.8
b. Purely family			2,033,653	2,033,653	100.0
c. Mixed			181,516	155,762	85.8
Head Occupied Outside Agriculture					
a. All Types	881,460	29,488	851,972	823,530	96.7
b. Purely family			755,160	755,160	100.0
c. Mixed			96,812	68,370	70.6
Head Occupied in Manufacturing					
a. All Types	212,380	7,547	204,833	194,852	95.1
b. Purely family			173,210	173,210	100.0
c. Mixed			31,623	21,642	68.4
Head Occupied in Commerce					
a. All Types	242,048	6,991	235,057	223,124	94.9
b. Purely family			192,816	192,816	100.0
c. Mixed			42,241	30,308	71.8
Head Occupied Elsewhere Outside Agriculture					
a. All Types	427,032	14,950	412,082	405,554	98.4
b. Purely family			389,134	389,134	100.0
c. Mixed			22,948	16,420	71.6

* Includes Forestry.

Source: From *Census of 1920, Detailed Tables*, Table 36.

52:Barclay S-5 (no date)1954 ADI Formosa ADI

is also counted in the figure). This held true in almost the same degree throughout some of the major portions of the society—whether or not the head had a regular occupation, and on the average regardless of the particular occupation of the head (see Table 47). 592 [596]

Closer inspection reveals that the apparent similarity in membership existed chiefly through a preponderance of households made up exclusively of family members, with no outsiders ("purely family households" in Table 47). Of all "co-residents," over nine-tenths lived together in households of this kind, and the case was the same in all the major occupational groups. Whatever differences arose in each occupational group as a whole, therefore, stemmed from a minority of households containing families together with non-relatives—the "mixed households." It is only within *this* segment that the principal characteristics distinguishing various groups in the population can be found. While four-fifths of all people in even these "mixed" units consisted of family relatives, the proportion was larger in those households dependent on agriculture, and considerably smaller where the head was employed elsewhere (especially in manufacturing and commerce) (see Table 47).

There were different ways of becoming a member of a household, according to the kind of member one was to be, and some of these differences are reflected in the balance between male and female in households of various sizes (see Table 48). Relatives entered a family unit through circumstances well covered by institutional rules or procedures—most commonly by birth or by marriage. Neither of these channels permits much latitude of choice to the parties most directly involved—birth is non-voluntary for those being born, and marriage is usually an alliance arranged by persons other than the partners being married. Hence marked sex disparities should not be expected in households that are formed on the basis of kinship alone. However, these "normal" paths of entry were not the only ones, though the predominance of purely family households very nearly made them so. Men obviously had moved out of many family units, especially the smaller ones, and into mixed households of various sizes—*not* conspicuously into the larger ones. A considerable share of these men must have been single, for departure accompanied by a wife would not have altered the sex balance as between larger and smaller households.

Although very few households contained any outsiders, the larger the unit the less likely it was to consist solely of related persons. It

52:Barclay S-5 (no date)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

596 464 clined), the home of one-third of all Japanese, the location of the better educational facilities, the commercial area of most importance for trade in other than farm products, and of course the center of most large government and business offices. Taipei Prefecture, therefore, had proceeded farthest in the spread of non-agricultural activities in its population. Even though a substantial group in this population does not appear in these tables because they were Japanese, the effect of their presence is evident in the way that non-farming occupations were conducted by Taiwanese—all but 21 per cent of the men in such work (excepting the heads of households and people staying in the households of others) were employed away from their families, a proportion less than any other Prefecture and only half the figure in some. Agriculture was much less affected by the unusual character of other pursuits, but it did not go untouched. Though most farmers in Taipei did their work in their own households, they fell somewhat below the mark set by the rest of the agricultural population.[21]

Significantly, in all of the other Prefectures (except P'enghu, which was not of much account in size), agricultural households were nearly uniform in the degree to which they retained the use of services by subordinate men in their families—close to 90 per cent of the men in this category who lived with their families.[22] The principal differences from one Prefecture to another when all households are considered at once, therefore, must have arisen from the prevalence and the mode of organization in activities *outside* of agriculture, for they practically disappear when farming households alone are compared.

592 596 There can be little doubt that the family system, through its weight in the conduct of household affairs, has furnished the most important social setting for behavior of the Taiwanese. We have not only the testimony of Chinese tradition to support this conclusion, but the corroboration of statistical evidence as well. Practically everyone was a member of some familial household—most were related by

[21] Taipei was the site of tea plantations, which, through a greater use of wage labor, may have been responsible for the deviation from the pattern elsewhere in the island. A plantation might employ men (and actually did employ many women) on a more or less regular basis from several farming households, and leave their services free at some seasons of the year for work in their own fields.

[22] Naturally this does not include those who had left home to enter some other occupation; these would appear as outsiders in some other households or as persons living alone, perhaps in some cases as separate families.

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 ADl Formosa ADl

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kinship, and those who were not, the "outsiders," generally owed their membership to the work that they performed in the families of others. In addition, many strong obligations were observed among people who were related but not living together in the same household. So in reality the significance of the family system was wider than can be adequately conveyed by the facts of this chapter; it extended beyond the bounds of kinship, in its application to non-related household residents, and beyond the limits of individual households, in governing the intercourse between related families.

As for those Taiwanese who lived in their own familial households, the best-documented of all their activities is the work that they performed. The extent of male employment in these family groups showed no large differences as between the major classes of occupations. But leisure, as judged by the abstention from regular work, was apparently more widespread in families of greater affluence, regardless of their particular source of support. And their households were also the ones that made the most use of services of non-family members, which was one of the ways of making leisure possible.

It is significant that the work of most men was carried on in household enterprises inside their own families. In a sense this was a fulfillment of traditional exhortations that families should be self-sufficient, but a great deal more was involved at the same time. A society which is family-centered in most respects cannot afford to make very far-reaching exceptions in the case of economic activities: since employment, if it occurs outside of the household, is a possible avenue for a person to advance in social position independently of family influence, it also is potentially a competing source of loyalty. In this and various other ways, the stability of the social order was buttressed by the force of its own organization as well as through the support of its moral precepts, by making it difficult for people to by-pass the family system in pursuit of their self-interest.

Though the span of observation is short and confined to a relatively early period in Taiwan, the facts betray no remarkable sign of yielding in this household structure. And changes that did not alter this fundamental pattern could not amount to very much. The failure of "colonial development" to be a clearcut departure from the past among Taiwanese should be attributed very largely to the stability of their familial institutions.